Topics in the syntax of Sarikoli
Kim, D.; Kim D.

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Universiteit Leiden

Author: Kim, Deborah
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10

Clause combinations

In Sarikoli, clauses may be combined by means of coordination (§10.1) or subordination (§10.2). This chapter describes the various types of clause combinations and the syntactic strategies that mark those constructions.

10.1 Coordination

Coordination is the conjoining of two or more elements of the same grammatical status. §2.3.2 shows how nouns within an NP may be coordinated, while this section describes how independent clauses may be coordinated.

Independent clauses may be coordinated by means of conjunctions or by simple juxtaposition without any conjunctions, and both are common ways to achieve coordination. If the conjuncts contain verbal predicates, each of the verbs is in the finite stem and has its own agreement clitic. Table 10.1 summarizes the types of coordination presented in this chapter.

Table 10.1 Types of coordination

Coordination type	Marker	Reference
Cumulative	*ham*; *mas*; *at*	§10.1.1
Sequential	*χu*	§10.1.2
Causal	*kazwi*	§10.1.3
Adversative	*hammo*; *lɛkin*	§10.1.4
Disjunctive	*jo(ki)*; *χu*	§10.1.5
Asyndetic	*Ø*	§10.1.6

10.1.1 Cumulative coordination

There are three ways of achieving cumulative coordination. The first is to use the coordinating conjunction *ham* 'and', which is used for conjoining two or more predicates together. When clauses are coordinated with *ham*, all of the conjuncts must have the same type of predicate, whether verbal or non-verbal. *ham* is placed before the object and predicate of each conjunct, but the *ham* in the first conjunct is optional and may be omitted. (10.1) - (10.4) are examples of cumulative coordination with verbal predicates and (10.5) - (10.7) contain non-verbal predicates. If the first predicate is modified by a degree adverbial, *ham* in the first conjunct is usually omitted, as in (10.6) & (10.7); alternatively, both conjuncts have *ham* as well as the same degree adverbial, as in (10.8).

(10.1) *ar*   *tej*   *(ham)*   *usul*   *ka=in*   *ham*
        LOC   wedding   CONJ   dance   do.IPFV=3PL.IPFV   CONJ

        dof   *noj*   *χej=in*
        tambourine   flute   play.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
        'At a wedding they dance and play the tambourine and flute.'

(10.2) *waz*   *ɕitɕ*   *(ham)*   *χuzmat*   *ka=am*   *ham*
        1SG.NOM   now   CONJ   work   do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV   CONJ

        xuj=am   *ham*   *kalo*   *poj=am*
        read.IPFV=1SG.IPFV   CONJ   sheep   herd.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
        'I am now working and studying and herding sheep.'

(10.3) *wi*   *tar*   *um*   *jam*   *batɕo*   *fand-an*
        3SG.NNOM.DIST   LOC   there   3SG.NOM.PROX   child   false-GEN

        tsarang   *ʐit*   *vid=i*   *wazondʑ*   *ham*   *tagəw*   *fand*   *na*
        how   bad   be.INF=SC   know.PRF   CONJ   at.all   false   NEG

        ðod=itɕuz   *sɛðdʑ*
        give.INF=REL   become.PRF
        'Since then, this child learned how bad it is to lie, and has become someone who never tells lies at all. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.4) *(ham) rasim   toʑ=in   ham   awudʑ*
CONJ   picture   pull.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ   sound

    zoz=in
    get.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They take pictures and record audio.'

(10.5) *mu   puts (ham) duχtur ham   olim*
1SG.NNOM son   CONJ doctor   CONJ scholar
'My son is a doctor and a scholar.'

(10.6) *mu   χor   utɕ ɕuv   ham   aqlin*
1SG.NNOM nephew very well.behaved CONJ smart
'My nephew is very well-behaved and smart.'

(10.7) *tudʑik χalg-an   wi   vrəw utɕ pur   ham*
Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow very much CONJ

    tor
    black
'Tajik people's eyebrows are very thick and dark.'

(10.8) *tudʑik χalg-an   wi   vrəw ham   utɕ pur*
Tajik person-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST brow CONJ very much

    ham   utɕ tor
    CONJ very black
'Tajik people's eyebrows are very thick and very dark.'

The second type of cumulative coordination involves the use of the particle
mas 'also', which is placed before the predicate of each conjunct. The predicate
in the second clause may be omitted. This is exemplified in (10.9) - (10.13):

(10.9) *paləw mas ka=an,   ɕirgirindʑ mas*
pilaf also do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV Shirgirinj also

    (ka=an)
    do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
'We will make pilaf as well as Shirgirinj.'

(10.10) *ong   mas wazond,   adabjot mas (wazond)*
tune also know.3SG.IPFV lyrics   also know.3SG.IPFV
'He knows the tune as well as the lyrics.'

(10.11) *pugan   mas joð = it,   fal   mas*
         tomorrow also come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV two.days.hence also

        (joð = it),   ʁadar   mas
        come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV three.days.hence also

        (joð = it)
        come.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
        'Come(pl) tomorrow, and the day after, and the day after.'

(10.12) *sarikuj ziv   mas lɛv = in,   pursi   ziv   mas*
         Sarikoli tongue also say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV Persian tongue also

        (lɛv = in)
        say.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
        'They speak Sarikoli as well as Persian.'

(10.13) *gulbibi mas qɛtɕin,   ɕanigul mas (qɛtɕin)*
         Geelbibi also pregnant Shanigeel also pregnant
         'Geelbibi is pregnant, as well as Shanigeel.'

The conjunction *at* is most often used for conjoining two NPs (as shown in §2.3.2), but it is also used for conjoining repeated verbs in narratives. In narratives, sometimes the same verb is repeated multiple times to indicate that the activity is continuous. The following examples are taken from narratives, and *at* occurs after each repetition of the verb, unless the last repetition is followed by the subordinating conjunction *iko*, as in (10.16).

(10.14) *k = ar   wi   doxt   wajəw ðid*
         ANA = LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST wilderness walk   give.3SG.IPFV

        at   ðid   at   ðid   at
        CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ give.3SG.IPFV CONJ

        ðid   at   aluk   səwd   χu
        give.3SG.IPFV CONJ tired become.3SG.IPFV TEMP.CONJ

        xufst
        sleep.3SG.IPFV
        'He walks and walks and walks and walks in that wilderness and
        gets tired and falls asleep.'

(10.15) *tid   az   zabu   ki=wi   rang*
go.INF ABL back ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST SEMB

ʁirs=in   at   ʁirs=in   at
turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ

ʁirs=in   at   i   puts az   wɛf
turn.IPFV=3PL.IPFV CONJ one son   ABL 3PL.NNOM.DIST

i   dʑom   vrejd
one scoop find.3SG.IPFV

'After going, he goes around and around and around and around
like that and one son from among them finds a scoop.'

(10.16) *a=ujnak   k=dos   χu   pa   prud*
ACC=glass ANA=manner REFL.NNOM LOC front

lakaxt   tɕost   at   tɕost   at
put.3SG.IPFV look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ

tɕost   at   tɕost   at   tɕost
look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV CONJ look.3SG.IPFV

iko   di-an   i   vrud   xtur   vijojdʑ
COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX-GEN one brother camel ride.PRF

ʁarst=ik
turn.3SG.IPFV=DUR

'He puts the mirror in front of him like that and looks and looks
and looks and looks and looks into it and sees that one of his
brothers is riding and camel and going around.'

10.1.2 Sequential coordination

Sequential coordination conjoins clauses with situations that take place se-
quentially. The temporal conjunction *χu* is used to show temporal sequence
between finite clauses. *χu* occurs between the conjuncts; intonation patterns
and pauses indicate that in conversation, *χu* belongs to the first clause, but in
narrative, it may belong to the second clause. (10.17) - (10.22) are examples
of *χu* occurring in conversation. Commas are used to indicate pauses.

(10.17) *a=di*   *tɕɛr*   *adu*   *ka=am*
         ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX   work   finish   do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV

        χu,   *skit*   *ka=am*
        TEMP.CONJ   play   do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
        'I will finish this work and then play.'

(10.18) *tom*   *so=am*   *χu,*
         then   become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ

        joð=am
        come.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
        'Then I will go there and come back.'

(10.19) *awal*   *mejmun-ɛf=ir*   *tɕoj*   *wejð*   *χu,*
         first   guest-PL.NNOM=DAT   tea   put.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ

        mu=ri   *jordam*   *ka*
        1SG.NNOM=DAT   help   do.IPFV
        'First pour tea for the guests and then help me.'

(10.20) *woð*   *i*   *maθ*   *dam*   *zoz=in*   *χu,*
         3PL.NOM   one   day   rest   get.IPFV=3PL.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ

        joð=in
        come.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
        'They rest for one day and then come.'

(10.21) *amirɕu*   *χu*   *ɣin*   *qati*   *jot*   *χu,*   *uz*
         Amirshu   REFL.NNOM   wife   COM   come.PFV   TEMP.CONJ   again

        tuɪjd
        go.PFV
        'Amirshu came with his wife and then left again.'

(10.22) *tamaɕ=af*   *χug*   *χu*
         2PL.NOM=2PL.PFV   eat.PFV   TEMP.CONJ

        jot=af=o
        come.PFV=2PL.PFV=Q
        'Did you(pl) eat and then come?'

The following are examples of *χu* occurring in narrative. In (10.23) - (10.25), it is preceded by a pause and belongs to the second clause. (10.26) & (10.27) contain instances of *χu* occurring both clause-finally and clause-initially.

(10.23) *tom*   *wi=ri*   *lɛq*   *ðid*
then   3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT   clothing   give.3SG.IPFV

    jad   *ju*   *kaxt,*   *χu*
    3SG.NOM.PROX   3SG.NOM.DIST   do.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ

    tej   *waðor=in*
    wedding   grab.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'Then he gives him clothing and does this and that, and they hold a wedding ceremony.'

(10.24) *uz*   *ʁarst*   *ki=di*   *rang,*
again   turn.3SG.IPFV   ANA=3SG.NNOM.PROX   SEMB

    χu   *uvd*   *sul*   *fropst*
    TEMP.CONJ   seven   year   reach.3SG.IPFV
'He goes around again like that, and seven years pass.'

(10.25) *səwd*   *χu*   *ar*   *mala*
become.3SG.IPFV   REFL.NNOM   LOC   housing.compound

    dɛðd,   *χu*   *az*   *fil*   *χofst*
    enter.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   ABL   elephant   go.down.3SG.IPFV
'He goes and enters his housing compound and gets off the elephant.'

(10.26) *jad*   *mas*   *joðd*   *χu,*   *a=ktɕawi*
3SG.NOM.PROX   also   come.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   ACC=ring

    wi   *az*   *ðust*   *tojʑd*   *waʑafst*
    3SG.NNOM.DIST   ABL   hand   pull.3SG.IPFV   go.back.3SG.IPFV

    χofst,   *χu*   *joðd*   *χu*
    go.down.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   come.3SG.IPFV   REFL.NNOM

    kalo   *χejz*
    sheep   side
'He also comes and pulls the ring off her hand and returns and goes down, and comes to his sheep.'

(10.27) *a=wi*   *roft*   *χu,*   *pa*
         ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST   spread.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   LOC

    tɕɛd   *dejd=ir*   *at*   *jad*   *mas*
    house   enter.INF=DAT   CONJ   3SG.NOM.PROX   also

    ʐuzd,   *χu*   *wi*   *tar*   *pɛð*
    run.3SG.IPFV   TEMP.CONJ   3SG.NNOM.DIST   LOC   foot

    a=χu   *patəwd*
    a=REFL.NNOM   throw.3SG.IPFV
    'He spreads it on and is about to enter the house, and this one also
    runs and throws himself at that one's feet.'

This construction may be used with perfective situations, as in (10.21) &
(10.22), and with imperfective situations, as in the remaining examples, as
long as all of the conjoined clauses within the sentence have the same aspect.

The temporal conjunction *χu* is also used for causal coordination (§10.1.3) or
for expressing confusion, unacceptance, and dissatisfaction (§13.9).

10.1.3 Causal coordination

Sarikoli most commonly uses the causal conjunction *kazwi* to link one clause
with another clause providing the reason or explanation for it. The conjunc-
tion *kazwi* is derived from the merging of *k(i)= az wi* 'from that' (anaphoric
clitic + ablative marker + 3sg non-nominative distal demonstrative), and
indicates a causal relation between two situations. In this construction, the
reason clause is given first, followed by *kazwi*, and then the result clause.
Syntactically, *kazwi* belongs to the result clause. This type of coordination is
illustrated in (10.28) - (10.34) below. As shown in these examples, each of the
conjuncts in causal coordination may take any aspect, and does not necessarily
share the same aspect as the other conjunct within the same sentence.

(10.28) *mu*   *dud*   *a=mu*   *qiw*   *tɕəwg,*   *kazwi=am*
         1SG.NNOM   uncle   ACC=1SG.NNOM   call   do.PFV   so=1SG.PFV

    jot
    come.PFV
    'My uncle called me, so I came.'

(10.29) *m-oto*   *kasal suut,*   *kazwi=am*
         1SG.NNOM=father sick   become.PFV   so=1SG.PFV

    wi=ri   *tamoq jud*
    3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT food   take.PFV
'My father has gotten sick, so I took him food.'

(10.30) *woð=af*   *a=di*   *ðud,*
         3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX hit.PFV

    kazwi=ik niwd
    so=DUR   cry.3SG.IPFV
'They hit him, that is why he is crying.'

(10.31) *wɛf-an*   *pul   nist,*   *kazwi ejd   na*
         3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN money NEG.be.IPFV so   festival NEG

    narzambon=in
    celebrate.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
'They do not have money, that is why they do not celebrate the
    festival.'

(10.32) *sojra=ri   χuɕ,   kazwi=am   vəwg*
         Soyra=DAT happy so=1SG.PFV bring.PFV
'Soyra likes it, that is why I brought it.'

(10.33) *i   dam dɛr   uz   χor=am,*   *kazwi ɕitɕ na*
         one rest CPRV again eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV so   now NEG

    χor=am
    eat.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will eat again later, so I will not eat right now.'

(10.34) *sodil pugan   joðd,*   *kazwi=an*
         Sodil tomorrow come.3SG.IPFV so=1PL.PFV

    a=wi   *znud*
    ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST wash.PFV
'Sodil is coming tomorrow, that is why we washed it.'

The temporal conjunction *χu* sometimes gives rise to a causal interpretation:

(10.35) *waz = am*   *χu*   *tilfon*   *bunost*   *χu*
         1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV   REFL.NNOM   phone   lose.PFV   TEMP.CONJ

        ta   *numuur = am*   *bunost*
        2SG.NNOM   number = 1SG.PFV   lose.PFV

        'I lost my phone, so I lost your number.'

(10.36) *zejnura*   *sɛð*   *nudʑ*   *jot*   *χu*   *nəwz*
         Zeynura   this.year   new   come.PFV   TEMP.CONJ   still

        k = um   *seðdʑ = ɛndʑ*   *nist*
        ANA = there   become.PRF = REL   NEG.be.IPFV

        'Zeynura is new here this year, so she has not been there yet.'

10.1.4 Adversative coordination

For expressing contrasting or counterexpectational relations between clauses, Sarikoli uses the adversative conjunctions *hammo* and *lɛkin* 'but', which are cognate with Persian and may be used interchangeably. The adversative conjunction occurs between the two conjoined elements, and syntactically belongs to the second clause. There are no aspect restrictions for the conjuncts in adversative coordination. The sentences in (10.37) - (10.43) are examples of clauses coordinated in adversative relations.

(10.37) *asl-i*   *ta*   *χejz = am*   *tid*   *mejdʑ*   *vuud,*
         origin-ADV   2SG.NNOM   side = 1SG.PFV   go.INF   INTEN   be.PFV

        hammo   *mu-an*   *digar*   *tɕɛr*   *naxtɯg*
        but   1SG.NNOM-GEN   other   work   go.up.PFV

        'I was originally planning to go over to your place, but something
        else came up.'

(10.38) *mu*   *dil*   *na*   *tid,*   *lɛkin*   *na*   *tɛdz = am*
         1SG.NNOM   heart   NEG   go.INF   but   NEG   go.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV

        tsa   *na*   *səwd*
        COND   NEG   become.3SG.IPFV

        'I do not want to go, but I must go.'

(10.39) *suat   nəw   suut,   lɛkin mu   vits   nəwz   na*
       hour   nine   become.PFV   but   1SG.NNOM aunt   still   NEG

       jot
       come.PFV
       'It is 9 o'clock, but my aunt still has not come.'

(10.40) *m-ono   wɛf = ir   lɛvd,   hammo*
       1SG.NNOM-mother   3PL.NNOM.DIST = DAT   say.PFV but

       woð   pa   gap   na   tɕomb = in
       3PL.NOM.DIST   LOC word NEG be.willing.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
       'My mother told them, but they are not willing to listen.'

(10.41) *waz   so = am,   lɛkin ta   qati na*
       1SG.NOM   become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV but   2SG.NNOM COM   NEG

       so = am
       become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
       'I will go, but I will not go with you.'

(10.42) *vɛrθ duruust, lɛkin az   dʑam suf   tudʑik gap*
       both   whole   but   ABL all   pure Tajik   word

       mi = jad
       CATA = 3SG.NOM.PROX
       'They are both correct, but the most pure Tajik word is this one.'

(10.43) *ju   χu   pul   har   tsarang-in waχt*
       3SG.NOM.DIST   REFL.NNOM   money every how-ADJ   time

       zoxt   tɕi   kaxt,   lɛkin waz   zoxt   na   tɕi
       get.INF CAP do.3SG.IPFV but   1SG.NOM   get.INF   NEG CAP

       ka = am
       do.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
       'He can take out his money at any time, but I cannot.'

10.1.5 Disjunctive coordination

Disjunction is a type of coordination which presents alternative possibilities. In Sarikoli, disjunction is expressed by the conjunction *jo(ki)* 'or', which may be repeated to form the correlating conjunction *jo(ki)... jo(ki)...* 'either...

or...'. These conjunctions link two finite clauses together and present them as
alternatives. The disjunctive conjunction in each conjunct immediately pre-
cedes the specific alternative element. If the conjuncts have different subjects
which are presented as alternatives, the disjunctive conjunctions are placed
at the beginning of each clause, as in (10.44) & (10.45). Likewise, if the alter-
natives are objects, *jo(ki)* precedes the object of each conjunct, as in (10.46),
and so on. The following examples show the two clauses presenting different
alternatives for the subject (10.44) & (10.45), object (10.46), verb without a
shared object (10.47), verb with a shared object (10.48), polarity (10.49), or
adverbial or other element (10.50), but the other elements in the sentence are
usually identical in both clauses. For the sake of parsimony, the redundant
elements are often omitted in the second clause, as shown by the parentheses
around the omissible elements in the examples below.

(10.44) *jo waz   naviç = am,   jo amad (naviçt)*
      or 1SG.NOM write.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or Amad write.3SG.IPFV
      'Either I will write it or Amad will.'

(10.45) *joki mu   dud   bɛlat zozd,   joki mu*
      or   1SG.NNOM uncle ticket buy.3SG.IPFV or   1SG.NNOM

      vrud   (zozd)
      brother buy.3SG.IPFV
      'Either my uncle will buy the ticket or my brother will.'

(10.46) *waz   jo m = a = di   baron*
      1SG.NOM or CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX dress

      zoz = am,   jo m = a = di
      buy.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or CATA = ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX

      (zoz = am)
      buy.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
      'I will buy either this dress or this one.'

(10.47) *waz   joki ktub xuj = am,   joki*
      1SG.NOM or   book read.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV or

      xufs = am
      sleep.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
      'I will either read a book or sleep.'

(10.48) *maɕ   jo   a=di   χor=an   jo*
    1PL.NOM or ACC=3SG.NNOM.PROX eat.IPFV=1PL.IPFV or

    patəw=an
    throw.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
    'We will either eat this or throw it away.'

(10.49) *waz   jo tid   tɕi   ka=am,   jo (tid)   na*
    1SG.NOM or go.INF CAP do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or go.INF NEG

    (tɕi   ka=am)
    CAP do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
    'I may be able to go, or may not be able to go.'

(10.50) *waz   joki nɯr   reewun so=am,   joki*
    1SG.NOM or   today leave   become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or

    pɯgan   (rɯwun so=am)
    tomorrow leave   become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
    'I will leave either today or tomorrow.'

The disjunctive conjunction *jo(ki)* is used for both clausal and phrasal coordination, as shown in the following examples containing phrase-level coordination:

(10.51) *xjejn jo sovdz lɛq   pamɛdz=in*
    blue   or green clothing wear.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
    'They wear blue or green clothes.'

(10.52) *wɛf=ir   tɕat jo kalo   mas buz=in*
    3PL.NNOM.DIST=DAT cow   or sheep also send.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
    'They also send them cows or sheep.'

The disjunctive conjunction *jo(ki)* is not used for alternative questions, which take the form of a tag question instead (§7.3.2). However, it is frequently used in interrogative complement clauses expressing a 'whether or not' relation between two clauses (§7.3.4.1), as demonstrated by the following example:

(10.53) *wɛf-an*   *batɕo vid=i*   *jo(ki) na   vid=i*
         3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN child be.INF=SC or   NEG be.INF=SC

       waz   *mas   na   wazon=am*
       1SG.NOM also NEG know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
       'I do not know whether they have children or not, either.'

Although used less frequently, *χu* is another disjunctive conjunction that serves the same function as *jo(ki)*. As shown in the following examples, *χu* may be used with first, second, or third person subjects.

(10.54) *χu ar   χuɹmat tɛdz   χu pa   tɕɛd   ɕuv   niθ*
         or   LOC work   go.IPFV or   LOC house calm sit.IPFV
         'Either go to work or stay home and behave yourself.'

(10.55) *χu əwqut lɛv   χu barakat az   di   ðəw*
         or   thing   say.IPFV or   blessing   ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX two

       iw   surəw
       one separate.IPFV
       'Say either possessions or blessings; just choose one of these.'

(10.56) *χu zundagi ka   χu naj   mir   hammo*
         or   life   do.IPFV or   NEG die.IPFV but

       zundagi=at=ik   *tɕəwg   duruust χalg   so*
       life=2SG.PFV=DUR do.PFV whole   person become.IPFV
       'Either live or die; but if you are going to live, be a wholesome
       person.'

(10.57) *waz*   *χu pa   tɕɛd   niθ=am*   *kalo*
         1SG.NOM or   LOC house sit.IPFV=1SG.IPFV sheep

       puj=am   *χu naj   amriko   xojd=ir*
       herd.IPFV=1SG.IPFV or   NEG America read.INF=DAT

       tɛdz=am
       go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
       'I will either live at home and herd sheep or go to America to
       study.'

(10.58) *çonjoz   χu pa   dars   dɛðd   χu ar   buzur*
Shonyoz   or LOC lesson enter.3SG.IPFV   or LOC bazaar

tizd   wi   dil-nɛndʑ   wazond   qilo
go.3SG.IPFV   3SG.NNOM.DIST   heart-ADJ   know.INF   difficult
'Shonyoz will either go to class or go to the bazaar; it is difficult
to know his heart.'

10.1.6 Asyndetic coordination

Asyndetic coordination, in which a series of clauses which are conjoined through
juxtaposition rather than by means of conjunctions, is common in Sarikoli. It
is frequently used when the conjuncts have no other constituents besides the
predicate, and the interpretation is usually sequential. As with other types of
coordination, each of the conjoined clauses is finite and has its own pronom-
inal agreement clitic:

(10.59) *suut=at   jot=at=o*
become.PFV=2SG.PFV   come.PFV=2SG.PFV=Q
'Did you go and come back?'

(10.60) *χug=af   jot=af=o*
eat.PFV=3PL.PFV   come.PFV=3PL.PFV=Q
'Did they eat and come back?'

(10.61) *i   ʁots surəwd   zozd   tizd*
one girl separate.3SG.IPFV   get.3SG.IPFV   go.3SG.IPFV

a=wi   χu=ri   yin   kaxt
ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST   REFL.NNOM=DAT   wife do.3SG.IPFV
'He selects a girl, takes her, goes, and makes her his wife.'

10.2 Subordination

Clauses may be combined so that one clause is the main clause and the other is
dependent on the main clause, and the two clauses do not have the same gram-
matical status. In a sentence with subordination, the main clause is always
finite and the subordinate clause is often, but not always, infinitival. Three
types of subordinate clauses will be discussed in this section: relative clauses
(§10.2.1), complement clauses (§10.2.2), and adverbial clauses (§10.2.3).

10.2.1 Relative clause

Relativization involves two clauses, the relative clause (RC) and the main clause, which share a common argument. The RC modifies the common argument within the main clause (Dixon 2010b:314). Sarikoli uses two enclitic relativizers[1] for creating RC constructions, $=\varepsilon nd\dot{z}$ and $=it\varsigma uz$, which may form either externally-headed or headless RCs; in addition, there are also unmarked RCs. Besides marking RCs, $\varepsilon nd\dot{z}$ is also used for deriving adjectivized phrases from nouns, time words, local demonstratives, and adpositional phrases (§2.3.1.6). The choice between the $=\varepsilon nd\dot{z}$ and $=it\varsigma uz$ relativizers is determined by whether the verb stem within the RC is finite or non-finite. Externally-headed RCs precede the common argument, and headless RCs occupy the slot where the common argument normally occurs. RCs do not contain pronominal agreement clitics.

10.2.1.1 RC with the $=\varepsilon nd\dot{z}$ relativizer

The relativizer $=\varepsilon nd\dot{z}$ is used with RCs that contain: 1) situations that have already been completed (10.62) - (10.65), and 2) states (10.66) & (10.67). It is the only relativizer that attaches to a finite verb stem, as it occurs with the perfect stem of verbs. It cannot attach to verbs in the imperfective or infinitive stems, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.68b) & (10.68c):

(10.62)　*sofia　mu=ri*　　　　　*[az　amriko　vəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ]　kamput*
　　　　　Sofia　1SG.NNOM=DAT　ABL　America　bring.PRF=REL　candy

　　　　　ðud
　　　　　give.PFV
　　　　　'Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].'

(10.63)　*watɕa　[waz　　　ləwr　sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ]　　　dʑuj*
　　　　　Wacha　1SG.NOM　big　become.PRF=REL　place
　　　　　'Wacha is the place [where I grew up].'

(10.64)　*[woð　　　　　　lɛvdʑ=ɛndʑ]　bejt　mu=ri　　　　　utɕ*
　　　　　3PL.NOM.DIST　say.PRF=REL　song　1SG.NNOM=DAT　very

　　　　　χuɕ
　　　　　happy
　　　　　'I really like the song [that they sang].'

---

[1]I use the term relativizer, not participle, because these morphemes are clitics that attach to an entire clause rather than suffixes that transform a verb into an adjective.

(10.65)   *[nur iθtɕ = ɛndʑ]   mejmun-χejl maɕ   xejx*
          today come.PRF = REL guest-PL.NOM 1PL.NNOM relative
          'The guests [who came today] are our relatives.'

(10.66)   *[ato   ano   na   vɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ] batɕo az   dʑam ivul*
          father mother NEG be.PRF = REL child ABL   all   pitiable
          '[Children who do not have parents] are the most pitiable.'

(10.67)   *m-ono   [mu = ri   χuɕ   vɛðdʑ = ɛndʑ]*
          1SG.NNOM-mother 1SG.NNOM = DAT happy be.PRF = REL

            tamoq tɕəwg
            food   do.PFV
          'My mother made food [that I like].'

(10.68)   a. *tamaɕ   [χu   zuxtɕ = ɛndʑ] mon*
             2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.PRF = REL apple

               χor = it
               eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
            'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

         b. **tamaɕ*   [χu   zoz = ɛndʑ]   mon*
             2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.IPFV = REL apple

               χor = it
               eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
            'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

         c. **tamaɕ*   [χu   zoxt = ɛndʑ]   mon*
             2PL.NOM REFL.NNOM buy.INF = REL apple

               χor = it
               eat.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
            'You(pl) eat the apples that you bought.'

10.2.1.2 RC with the = itɕuz relativizer

The relativizer = *itɕuz* attaches to the infinitive stem and is not inflected for aspect, but aspect is inferred based on the matrix clause situation and context. This includes: 1) ongoing events with present time reference (10.69) - (10.73), including habituals; 2) future events (10.74) & (10.75a); and 3) agentives, as shown in Table 10.2. = *itɕuz* cannot attach to a finite verb, as demonstrated

by the ungrammatical examples (10.75b) & (10.75c). Without the specific time reference words, the RCs in (10.69), (10.70), (10.74), and (10.75a) can be interpreted as having either present or future time reference.

(10.69) *[woð   ¢it¢   t¢ixt = it¢uz]   kinu   waz*
         3PL.NOM.DIST now   watch.INF = REL movie 1SG.NOM

         t¢uxt¢ = εndʑ
         watch.PRF = REL
         'The movie [they are watching right now] is one I have watched.'

(10.70) *[zulfi¢o   ¢it¢   lεvd = it¢uz]   bejt   wi   vrud*
         Zeelfisho now   say.INF = REL song 3SG.NNOM.DIST brother

         navi¢t¢ = εndʑ
         write.PRF = REL
         'The song [Zeelfisho is singing right now] is one written by his brother.'

(10.71) *tung [nu¢   az   dʑam pur   pεxt = it¢uz]   dijur*
         Teeng apricot ABL all   much ripen.INF = REL region
         'Teeng is the region [that grows the most apricots].'

(10.72) *jad   [m-oto   hara   maθ broxt = it¢uz]*
         3SG.NOM.PROX 1SG.NNOM-father every day   drink.INF = REL

         duri
         medicine
         'This is medicine [which my father drinks every day].'

(10.73) *[mu   ja𝜒   𝜒uzmat t¢ejg = it¢uz]   dʑuj   ut¢   ðar*
         1SG.NNOM sister work   do.INF = REL place very far
         'The place [where my sister works] is very far.'

(10.74) *[sulir   lεvd = it¢uz]   bejt = an   ma¢q   t¢əwg*
         next.year say.INF = REL song = 1PL.PFV training do.PFV
         'We practiced the song [that will be sung next year].'

(10.75) a. *[puɡan   xwor   tid = itɕuz]   batɕo-χejl = af*
            tomorrow Kashgar go.INF = REL child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV

               aftovuz bɛlat zuxt
               bus   ticket buy.PFV
            'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.'

     b. **[puɡan   xwor   tɛdʐ = itɕuz]   batɕo-χejl = af*
            tomorrow Kashgar go.IPFV = REL child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV

               aftovuz bɛlat zuxt
               bus   ticket buy.PFV
            'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.'

     c. **[puɡan   xwor   tujdʐ = itɕuz] batɕo-χejl = af*
            tomorrow Kashgar go.PRF = REL   child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV

               aftovuz bɛlat zuxt
               bus   ticket buy.PFV
            'The children [who are going to Kashgar tomorrow] have bought their bus tickets.'

Table 10.2 Examples of agentives with = *itɕuz*

wazawond = itɕuz 'eraser'	*bejt lɛvd = itɕuz* 'singer'
tamoq tɕejɡ = itɕuz 'cook'	*rasim tiʐd = itɕuz* 'artist'
para ðod = itɕuz 'seller'	*intsivd = itɕuz* 'sewer'
talipt = itɕuz 'beggar'	*ðɛxt = itɕuz* 'sprinkler'
kəwd = itɕuz 'digger'	*zdiɡ = itɕuz* 'wiper'
moɕin dɛt = itɕuz 'driver'	*kalo pojd = itɕuz* 'sheep herder'
batɕo tɕixt = itɕuz 'one that watches children'	*woxt = itɕuz* 'one that falls (epileptic)'

10.2.1.3 Headless RC

Expression of the common argument is not required. The common argument may be omitted if it can be understood from the situational context in which the utterance occurs. Headless RCs may be formed with both = *ɛndʐ*, as in (10.76) - (10.79), and = *itɕuz*, as in (10.80) - (10.83). Headless RCs most

commonly occur as the copula complement argument, but also occupy other argument and non-argument slots as well. In the following examples, the RC modifies the implicit S argument in (10.76), O argument in (10.80), copula subject in (10.77) & (10.81), and copula complement in (10.78), (10.79), (10.82), and (10.83).

(10.76) [*məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ]* *tik* *tɕi* *pɛð* *səwd* *zundo*
         die.PRF=REL straight LOC foot become.3SG.IPFV live

         səwd
         become.3SG.IPFV
         'The one [who had died] stands up straight on his feet and becomes alive.'

(10.77) [*muɯ=ri* *az* *dʑam* *puɯr* *χuɯmand* *tɕəwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ]*
         1SG.NNOM=REL ABL all much learn do.PRF=REL

         jad *malɯum*
         3SG.NOM.PROX teacher
         'The (one) [who has taught me the most] is this teacher.'

(10.78) *m-oto* *m-ono* *vɛrθ* [*tuɯznɛf* *ləwr*
         1SG.NNOM-father 1SG.NNOM-mother both Teeznef big

         sɛðdʑ=ɛndʑ]
         become.PRF=REL
         'My father and mother are both (ones) [who grew up in Teeznef].'

(10.79) *jad* *hansuɯ* *əwrat* [*pa* *varɕidɛ* *haroj* *sul*
         3SG.NOM.PROX Han woman LOC Varshide three year

         naluɯɕtɕ=ɛndʑ]
         live.PRF=REL
         'This Han woman is (one) [who has lived in Varshide for three years].'

(10.80) *doð=af* *a=*[*rasim* *zoxt=itɕuɯz]* *qiw* *na*
         3PL.NOM.PROX=3PL.PFV ACC=picture get.INF=REL call NEG

         tɕəwɣdʑ
         do.PRF
         'These people did not call the one [who takes pictures]. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.81) *[waz   az   dʐam pɯr   tɕejg = itɕuz] paləw*
1SG.NOM ABL all   much do.INF = REL pilaf
'(What) [I make the most] is pilaf.'

(10.82) *maɕ   [χu   ðust qati χig = itɕuz]*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM hand COM eat.INF = REL
'We are (ones) [who eat with our hands].'

(10.83) *zejnura [tar jəwl xɛvd broxt = itɕuz]*
Zeynura LOC dawn milk drink.INF = REL
'Zeynura is (one) [who drinks milk in the morning].'

10.2.1.4 Unmarked RC

RCs may be completely unmarked, with no relativizer indicating that a clause is modifying a noun. In this type of RC, an infinitive clause simply precedes the head noun, as shown in the following examples. This type of unmarked RC is not very common in Sarikoli.

(10.84) *waz = am   [hawu   ðod]   awudʐ na*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV precipitation fall.INF sound NEG

      xud
      hear.PFV
'I did not hear the sound [of rain falling].'

(10.85) *ɕanbɛ   jakɕanbɛ [dam zoxt]   maθ*
Saturday Sunday   rest   get.INF day
'Saturday and Sunday are days [of rest].'

Negative RCs with = ɛndʐ, or = ɛndʐ RCs within another subordinated clause, may optionally omit the relativizer, with no change in meaning. These are structurally similar to infinitival unmarked RCs, but either contain negated verbs in the perfect stem, as in (10.86) - (10.90) below, or occur in another subordinate clause, as in (10.131b), (10.132b), and (10.133b) presented in §10.2.3.1.

(10.86) *nur = am   [na xɛðdʐ] i   gap   xud*
today = 1SG.PFV NEG hear.PRF one word hear.PFV
'Today I heard something [I had not heard before].'

(10.87)   *nur=af*   *[na   χuɣdʐ]   tamoq   χug*
          today=3PL.PFV   NEG   eat.PRF   food   eat.PFV
          'Today they ate food [that they had not tried before].'

(10.88)   *[makola   na   naviçtç]   batço-χejl   intawɯm*
          essay   NEG   write.PRF   child-PL.NOM   exam

          ðo=in
          give.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
          'Students [who have not written essays] take exams.'

(10.89)   *xɛb   maç   [tej   na   tçəwɣdʐ]*
          yesterday   1PL.NOM   wedding   NEG   do.PRF

          batço-χejl=an   qati   tamoq   χug
          child-PL.NOM=1PL.PFV   together   food   eat.PFV
          'Yesterday, those of us [who are not married] ate a meal together.'

(10.90)   *m-ono   a=wi   rasɯm*
          1SG.NNOM-mother   ACC=3SG.NNOM.DIST   picture

          χɯ-an   [ðɛs   sul   na   wandʐ]   hamru=ri
          REFL.NNOM-GEN   ten   year   NEG   see.PRF   companion=DAT

          vɯɯsond
          show.PFV
          'My mother showed that picture to her friend [whom she has not
          seen for ten years].'

RCs with positive polarity that are not embedded in another subordinate clause
may not omit the *=ɛndʐ*, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.91) &
(10.92).

(10.91)   **sofia   mu=ri   [az   amriko   vəwɣdʐ]   kampɯt*
          Sofia   1SG.NNOM=DAT   ABL   America   bring.PRF   candy

          ðud
          give.PFV
          'Sofia gave me candy [that was brought from America].'

(10.92)   **[woð   lɛvdʐ   bejt]   mu=ri   ɯtç   χuç*
          3PL.NOM   say.PRF   song   1SG.NNOM=DAT   very   happy
          'I really like the song [they sang].'

10.2.2 Complement clause

A complement clause (CC) is a proposition that functions as an argument of another proposition. Dixon (2006) proposes three basic properties of CCs: 1) having the internal constituent structure of a clause; 2) functioning as a core argument of a higher clause; and 3) describing a proposition, containing someone involved in an activity or state.

Sarikoli has at least two CC constructions which fulfill all three of these requirements, both of which are used for reported speech and have the most structural similarity to a main clause. The other two constructions are non-finite complements with more limited grammatical marking. Nevertheless, their internal constituent structure does resemble that of a clause to some extent, and they do fulfill the latter two properties.

This section introduces two regular CC constructions: the nominalized complement with a subordinating conjunction (§10.2.2.1) and the infinitival complement (§10.2.2.2). Both constructions function as a core argument of a higher clause, and occur in the normal syntactic position of whichever argument they function as. In addition, two CC constructions used for reported speech will be presented (§10.2.2.3): the preverbal finite complement, used only for reporting speech, and the post-verbal finite complement with a subordinating conjunction, most often used for reporting speech, but also used as other CCs as well.

10.2.2.1 The nominalized complement

Sarikoli uses what Dixon describes as nominalization as a complementation strategy: "a process by which something with the properties of a nominal can be derived from a verb or adjective, or from a complete clause" (2006:36). Verbs that take nominalized complements include: verbs of attention (*wand* 'see', *xid* 'hear', *vuusond* 'show'), verbs of thinking (*wazond* 'know', *famd* 'understand', *uj tɕejg* 'think', *iɕandʑ tɕejg* 'believe', *ranixt* 'forget', *tar χuðm wand* 'dream about'), and verbs of speaking (*lɛvd* 'say, tell'). The subordinating conjunction *=i* plays a role similar to that of a complementizer. It attaches to a verb in the infinitive stem and makes it an argument of the main clause. The other component of this complementation strategy is the genitive marker *-an*, which attaches to the subject of the nominalized complement, structurally marking the subject of the embedded clause as a possessor of an NP. Since the embedded clause is nominalized, the entire embedded clause after the possessor-marked subject becomes the possessed item. This nominalized complement functions as a regular argument of the predicate of the main clause,

as with NPs. It does not carry any aspectual information, using time words to specify time reference when necessary, as in (10.95) & (10.96).

(10.93)   *sejfik   <gulpia-an   wi   tej   tɕejg=i>*
            Seyfik Geelpia-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wedding do.INF=SC

            wazond
            know.3SG.IPFV
            'Seyfik knows about <Geelpia's getting married>.'

(10.94)   *malum-χejl=af   <batɕo-ɛf-an   a=imi*
            teacher-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV child-PL.NNOM-GEN ACC=RECP

            ðod=i>   wand
            hit.INF=SC see.PFV
            'The teachers saw <the children's hitting each other>.'

(10.95)   *waz   <tamaɕ-an   xɛb   tsejz   χig=i>*
            1SG.NOM 2PL.NNOM-GEN yesterday what eat.INF=SC

            wazon=am
            know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
            'I know <what you(pl) ate yesterday>.'

(10.96)   *waz   <tamaɕ-an   puɡan   kudʐur tid=i>*
            1SG.NOM 2PL.NNOM-GEN tomorrow where go.INF=SC

            wazon=am
            know.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
            'I know <where you(pl) will go tomorrow>.'

(10.97)   *putxu <χu   radzɛn-an   wi   marg=i>*
            king   REFL.NNOM daughter-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST die.INF=SC

            xud
            hear.PFV
            'The king heard about <his daughter's dying>.'

10.2.2.2 Infinitival complement

The infinitival complement is formed with an infinitive verb stem and no agreement clitics. It does not contain an explicit subject, and the embedded

clause is interpreted as having one of the main clause arguments as its subject. It functions as an argument of the predicate of the main clause. Verbs that take infinitival complements include: liking verbs (*tɕimbd* 'be willing to', *χuɕ vid* 'be pleasing to (like)', *dil...vid* 'heart be (desire to)', *pixmun tɕejg* 'regret', *xudʑ ðord* 'fear') and certain speaking verbs (*qasam tɕejg* 'swear, promise', *ramud* 'cause, order', *latɕejg* 'let, allow').

(10.98) *aqlia <kalo guxt χig> na tɕombd*
Aqlia sheep meat eat.INF NEG be.willing.3SG.IPFV
'Aqlia is not willing to eat mutton.'

(10.99) *waz χu jaχ=ir <ɕejdoi intsivd>*
1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM sister=DAT Sheydoi sew.INF

ramej=am
cause.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
'I will cause my sister <to embroider a Sheydoi (female cap)>.'

(10.100) *m-oto a=mu <bejt lɛvd> na*
1SG.NNOM-father ACC=1SG.NNOM song say.INF NEG

lakaxt
let.3SG.IPFV
'My father does not allow me <to sing songs>.'

(10.101) *<tar vatɕ skit tɕejg> wi=ri χuɕ*
LOC outside play do.INF 3SG.NNOM.DIST=DAT happy
'He likes <playing outside>.' (lit. <Playing outside> is pleasing to him.)

(10.102) *qandik dil <χu patiɕ-ɛf qati pa buzur*
Qandik heart REFL.NNOM cousin-PL.NNOM COM LOC bazaar

tid>
go.INF
'Qandik wants <to go to the bazaar with her cousins>.'

(10.103) *<maθ paqad ktub xojd> a=χalg aluk*
day whole.duration book read.INF ACC=person tired

kaxt
do.3SG.IPFV
'<Reading books all day> makes a person tired.'

10.2.2.3 Reported speech

Most reported speech in Sarikoli takes the form of a direct quotation, described in this section, or hearsay, which is treated in §12. Sarikoli has two CC constructions for reporting direct speech. The first is a preverbal finite CC construction embedded in the main verb *lɛvd* 'say, tell' in the imperfective stem. In addition, the durative clitic *=ik* is attached to some element before the verb, either preceding or following the direct quotation. (10.104) - (10.106) exemplify this way of quoting direct speech. Sometimes the meaning of *lɛvd* may be extended to cover 'think', as in (10.105).

(10.104)   *<tamaɕ   awal   tɛdz=it,   waz   maður zabu*
   2PL.NOM   first   go.IPFV=2PL.IPFV   1SG.NOM   noon   back

    tɛdz=am>=ik   lɛvd
    go.IPFV=1SG.IPFV=DUR   say.3SG.IPFV
   'S/he is saying, "You(pl) go ahead, I will go in the afternoon".'

(10.105)   *waz=ik   <nur tɕorɕambɛ>   lɛv=am*
   1SG.NOM=DUR   today   Wednesday   say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
   'I thought, "Today is Wednesday".' (lit. I am saying, "Today is Wednesday".)

(10.106)   *<pa tɕɛd   dið=it>=ik   lɛv=in*
   LOC   house   enter.IPFV=2PL.IPFV=DUR   say.IPFV=3PL.IPFV
   'They are saying, "Come into our home".'

This construction may also be used in an interrogative sentence. If someone yells "Don't!" but it is unclear who the intended addressee was, one might ask the speaker the question in (10.107). The quoted material may also be replaced by an interrogative word, as in (10.108); although it is not an example of reporting direct speech, it shows how this preverbal finite CC construction is often used. This sentence may be used in a situation like the following: a prince sends a message to his lover through a messenger and awaits a response. As soon as the messenger returns, he asks him the question in (10.108).

(10.107)   *təw   tɕi=ri=ik   <mo> lɛv*
   2SG.NOM   who.NNOM=DAT=DUR   PROH   say.IPFV
   'To whom are you saying "Don't"?'

(10.108)   *tsejz=ik   lɛvd*
   what=DUR   say.3SG.IPFV
   'What is she saying?'

The second construction for reporting direct speech is a post-verbal finite CC, which is used for reporting direct speech as well as other perceptions. In this construction, the quoted material is placed after the verb in the main clause and introduced by the subordinating conjunction *iko*. *iko* belongs to the main clause and not the embedded clause. The verb in the main clause is not restricted to *lɛvd*, and may be another verb of speech, perception, thought, dreaming, etc., as shown in (10.109) - (10.114).

(10.109) *baχtigul   mu=ri   lɛvd   iko   <nur*
        Bahtigeel   1SG.NNOM=DAT   say.PFV   COMP   today

        mu-an   digar   tɕɛr   jost>
        1SG.NNOM-GEN   other   work   be.IPFV
        'Bahtigeel told me <I have other things to do today>.'

(10.110) *xɯd=am   iko   <tursun   ar   wi*
        hear.PFV=1SG.PFV   COMP   Tursun   LOC   3SG.NNOM.DIST

        afto   χu   tej   kaxt>
        week   REFL.NNOM   wedding   do.3SG.IPFV
        'I heard <Tursun will get married next week>.'

(10.111) *ar   ujnak   tɕost   iko   wi   vrud   i*
        LOC   glass   look.3SG.IPFV   COMP   3SG.NNOM.DIST   brother   one

        dʑuj=ik   ʁarst   wi   tɕi   ðust
        place=DUR   turn.3SG.IPFV   3SG.NNOM.DIST   LOC   hand

        k=ju   dʑom
        ANA=3SG.NOM.DIST   scoop
        'He looks into the mirror and sees <his brother is going around in a place with that scoop in his hand>.'

(10.112) *waz=am   χuðm   wand   iko   <matɕ=an*
        1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV   dream   see.PFV   COMP   1PL.NOM=1PL.PFV

        ar   anglia   sajoat=ir   tujdʑ>
        LOC   England   travel=DAT   go.PRF
        'I dreamed <we traveled to England (Evidentiality/New information)>.'

(10.113) *faridun   qasam tɕəwg   iko   <χu   radzɛn*
     Faridun oath   do.PFV   COMP   REFL.NNOM daughter

     tu=ri   ðo=am>
     2SG.NNOM=DAT give.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
     'Faridun swore <I will give you my daughter>.'

(10.114) *rajon   uj   tɕəwg   iko   <χu   batɕo-ɛf=ir*
     Rayon   think do.PFV   COMP   REFL.NNOM child-PL.NNOM=DAT

     ɕejdoi   intsov=am>
     Sheydoi sew.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
     'Rayon thought <I will sew Sheydois (female cap) for my children>.'

iko may also, especially in narratives, occur with other types of main verb, followed by the embedded clause containing that which is perceived after the main verb, as in (10.115) - (10.119).

(10.115) *woð   naxtɛdz=in   iko   spejd   vurdʑ=ik*
     3PL.NOM.DIST   go.up.IPFV=3PL.IPFV COMP white horse=DUR

     tasin   ðid
     neighing give.3SG.IPFV
     'They go out (and find that) <a white horse is neighing>.'

(10.116) *ju   dɛðd   iko   wi   ɣin*
     3SG.NOM.DIST enter.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife

     ar   qɛtɕ   i   χalg   aludʑ
     LOC stomach one person lie.PRF
     'He enters (and finds that) <there is a person lying next to his wife>. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.117) *ar   wi   dinju   so=am   iko*
     LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST world become.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COMP

     m-oto   mas vɛðdʑ   m-ono   mas
     1SG.NNOM-father also be.PRF 1SG.NNOM-mother also

     vɛðdʑ
     be.PRF
     'I go to that other world (and find that) <my father is there, and my mother is also there>. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.118) *tar   jɘwl   indɛzd   iko   di   tar*
LOC dawn get.up.3SG.IPFV COMP 3SG.NNOM.PROX LOC

    tuɕ   uz   i   tup   tɕudir   woɕtɕ
    straight again one group tent be.PRF

'He gets up in the morning (and finds that) <there is another group of tents straight ahead of him>. (Evidentiality/New information)'

(10.119) *k=dos   k=tar   wi   χadurdʑ*
ANA=manner ANA=LOC 3SG.NNOM.DIST mill

    dið=am   iko   mu   ɣin
    enter.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COMP 1SG.NNOM wife

    ki=wi   χadurdʑtɕi   qati   skit=ik
    ANA=3SG.NNOM.DIST miller COM play=DUR

    kaxt
    do.3SG.IPFV

'I enter the mill like that (and find that) <my wife is playing with that miller>.'

In this construction, the verb *lɛvd* frequently occurs in the imperfective aspect with a first person subject, which usually yields the meaning 'think', as in (10.120) & (10.121).

(10.120) *waz=ik   lɛv=am   iko   <nur sejɕambɛ>*
1SG.NOM=DUR say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV SC today Tuesday
'I thought <today is Wednesday>.'

(10.121) *waz=ik   lɛv=am   iko   <zulfia tɕur*
1SG.NOM=DUR say.IPFV=1SG.IPFV SC Zeelfia husband

    watɕejdʑ   vɛðdʑ>
    Wacha.person be.PRF
'I thought <Zeelfia's husband is from Wacha (Evidentiality/New information)>.'

In addition to marking the post-verbal CC construction, the subordinating conjunction *iko* may also be used with the negator *naj* to yield the interpretation 'otherwise', as illustrated by (10.122) - (10.124).

(10.122) *i   səwg   maɕ = ir   lɛv,   naj   iko   maɕ*
          one   story 1PL.NNOM = DAT   say.IPFV NEG   COMP 1PL.NOM

          ʐuq   so = an
          bored   become.IPFV = 1PL.IPFV
          'Tell us a story, otherwise we will get bored.'

(10.123) *tamaɕ   χu   ato   ziv   lɛv = it,   naj*
          2PL.NOM   REFL.NNOM   father tongue say.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV NEG

          iko   tamaɕ   ziv   bast
          COMP   2PL.NNOM   tongue   disappear.3SG.IPFV
          'Speak your(pl) native language, otherwise your language will dis-
          appear.'

(10.124) *a = di   dʐald pa   duχturχuno jus,   naj*
          ACC = 3SG.NNOM.PROX   fast   LOC   hospital   take.IPFV NEG

          iko   di   kasal   garun səwd
          COMP   3SG.NNOM.PROX   illness heavy become.3SG.IPFV
          'Take her to the hospital quickly, otherwise her illness will get
          serious.'

iko is also used in certain exclamations. The manner word *dos* occurs at the
beginning of the exclamation, followed by an adjective and optionally also a
verb, followed by *iko*, as exemplified in (10.125) & (10.126).

(10.125) *dos   ʐurm   iko*
          manner   warm   COMP
          'It is so hot!'

(10.126) *dos   χuɕruj   xuvdʐ   iko*
          manner   beautiful sleep.PRF COMP
          'She has fallen asleep so soundly! (Evidentiality/New informa-
          tion)'

10.2.3 Adverbial clause

Adverbial clauses (ACs) function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses.
In this section, ten types of Sarikoli ACs, or those functioning as ACs without
having genuine AC constructions, will be introduced. They are presented in
the following order: 1) finite ACs, 2) infinitival ACs with function markers,

and 3) RC constructions, which are not genuine adverbial subordinations. Table 10.3 presents the types of ACs that will be covered in the subsections that follow, along with their structural markings and section references.

Table 10.3 Adverbial clauses

AC types	Verb type	Marker(s)	Reference
Condition	IPFV	*tsa*	§10.2.3.1
Concession	IPFV	*mas tsa*	§10.2.3.2
Counterfactual	pluperfect	*tsa* + *=ik*	§10.2.3.3
Explanatory reason	INF	*az* + *=i*	§10.2.3.4
Suppositional reason	INF	*mazamun*	§10.2.3.5
Purpose	INF	*=ir*; *avon*	§10.2.3.6
Means/simultaneity	INF	*qati*	§10.2.3.7
Time	PFV	*=ik*	§10.2.3.8
	INF (RC)	*alo/waχt*	
Location	PRF/INF (RC)	*=ɛndʐ/=itɕuz* + *dʐuj*	§10.2.3.9
Manner	PRF (RC)	*=ɛndʐ* + *rang*	§10.2.3.10

Thompson & Longacre & Huang (2007) list three devices that are typically used for indicating ACs: subordinating morphemes, special verb forms, and word order. Sarikoli uses various subordinating morphemes for marking ACs, as shown in the third column of Table 10.3. Most of these subordinating morphemes are clause-final, occurring at the end of the AC, although some of them are placed immediately before the verb in the AC.

Most Sarikoli ACs are also marked with special verb forms, as they are marked with the infinitive stem of the verb and a lack of subject-verb agreement clitics. Only conditional, concessive, and counterfactual ACs and one variety of temporal AC contain finite verb stems and agreement clitics.

Finally, Sarikoli ACs may also be recognized, to some extent, by their position. They usually precede the entire main clause or immediately follow the subject of the main clause, as with other adverbial modifiers (§6).

10.2.3.1 Condition

The conditional AC is formed by placing the conditional particle *tsa* either before or after the predicate of the protasis.[2] *agar* 'if' may optionally be

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[2]Another usage of *tsa* is as a variant of the interrogative word *tsejz* 'what' (see §7.3.4).

added to the beginning of the protasis. Conditional ACs, along with concessive ACs (§10.2.3.2), counterfactual ACs (§10.2.3.3), and one type of temporal AC (§10.2.3.8), are unique among the Sarikoli ACs in that they are finite; even though they are dependent clauses, they take finite verbs as well as pronominal agreement clitics, as shown in (10.127) & (10.128).

(10.127) *tu̇=ri*   *i*   *tsiz*   *luzim*   *tsa*
          2SG.NNOM=DAT one   thing   necessary   COND

          səwd   *uz*   *joð*
          become.3SG.IPFV again   come.IPFV
          'Come again if you need something.'

(10.128) *ɕitɕ*   *tung*   *tɛdʐ=in*   *tsa*   *pond* *utɕ*   *qilo*
          now   Teeng   go.IPFV=3PL.IPFV   COND   road   very   difficult
          'If they go to Teeng now the roads are very bad.'

When the embedded clause is an existential clause with *jost* or *nist*, as in (10.129), or when the embedded clause is a *vid* copula clause, as in (10.130), the copula *vid* 'be' within the conditional AC occurs in the embedded imperfective stem.

(10.129) *mon*   *tsa*   *vid*   *mu̇=ri*   *i*   *tol* *vor*
          apple   COND   be.3SG.IPFV   1SG.NNOM=DAT   one   CL   bring.IPFV
          'If there are apples, bring me one.' OR 'If they are apples, bring
             me one'.

(10.130) *ɕtu*   *tsa*   *vid*   *mo*   *broz*
          cold   COND   be.3SG.IPFV   PROH   drink.IPFV
          'Do not drink it if it is cold.'

The conditional AC cannot take the perfective stem of the verb, as shown by the ungrammatical examples (10.131a), (10.132a), and (10.133a). Perfective situations are further embedded in an RC with the =ɛndʐ relativizer, which may be shortened into an unmarked RC, followed by *tsa* and the imperfective form of *vid* 'be', as in (10.131b), (10.132b), and (10.133b):

(10.131) a. **wejrun*   *tsa*   *sut*   *mu̇=ri*   *vor*
              broken   COND   become.PFV   1SG.NNOM=DAT   bring.IPFV
              'If it broke, bring it to me.'

b. *wejɾun   sɛðdʑ(=ɛndʑ)   tsa   vid*
   broken   become.PRF=REL   COND   be.3SG.IPFV

   mu=ri   vor
   1SG.NNOM=DAT   bring.IPFV
   'If it is broken, bring it to me.'

(10.132) a. **tamoq=at   na   χug   tsa   maɕ   qati*
   food=2SG.PFV   NEG   eat.PFV   COND   1PL.NNOM   COM

   χor
   eat.IPFV
   'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'

b. *tamoq   na   χuɣdʑ(=ɛndʑ)   tsa   vəw   maɕ*
   food   NEG   eat.PRF=REL   COND   be.IPFV   1PL.NNOM

   qati   χor
   COM   eat.IPFV
   'If you have not eaten, eat with us.'

(10.133) a. **woð=af   tujd   tsa   digar moɕin qati*
   3PL.NOM.DIST=3PL.PFV   go.PFV   COND   other   car   COM

   tɛdz
   go.IPFV
   'If they left, take another car.'

b. *woð   tujdʑ(=ɛndʑ) tsa   vəw=in*
   3PL.NOM.DIST   go.PRF=REL   COND   be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV

   digar moɕin qati   tɛdz
   other   car   COM   go.IPFV
   'If they left, take another car.'

Optionally, an additional conditional particle *u* may be used after the verb and *tsa*, but it is used very infrequently. The following are examples that contain *u* in the conditional AC.

(10.134) *ar   ujnak   agar   m=k=dos   tɕost   tsa*
          LOC glass if   CATA=ANA=manner look.3SG.IPFV COND

          u   puutun   a=dʑawun   jad   k=ar
          COND   all   ACC=world   3SG.NOM.PROX ANA=LOC

          wi   wand
          3SG.NNOM.DIST see.3SG.IPFV
          'If he looks into the mirror like this, he sees the whole world in
          it.'

(10.135) *waz   χu   pa   dʑom   a=xats   iw*
          1SG.NOM REFL.NNOM LOC scoop ACC=water one

          zoz=am   məwɣdʑ=ɛndʑ   ar   ʁov
          get.IPFV=1SG.IPFV die.PRF=REL   LOC   mouth

          wejð=am   tsa   u   zundo jad
          pour.IPFV=1SG.IPFV COND COND live   3SG.NOM.PROX

          səwd
          become.3SG.IPFV
          'If I get water into my scoop and pour it into a dead person's
          mouth, he becomes alive.'

(10.136) *naj   putxu-an   wi   ɣin   tsa   vid*
          NEG king-GEN 3SG.NNOM.DIST wife COND be.3SG.IPFV

          u   təw   k=az   di   ʁots-ɛf
          COND 2SG.NOM ANA=ABL 3SG.NNOM.PROX girl-PL.NNOM

          surəw   a=iw   zoz   tɛdz   di
          separate.IPFV ACC=one get.IPFV go.IPFV 3SG.NNOM.PROX

          putxu=ri
          king=DAT
          'If this is the king's wife, pick one girl from among these and take
          her to this king.'

10.2.3.2 *Concession*

The concessive AC is a type of conditional AC and also uses *tsa*, but *tsa* is
preceded by the particle *mas* 'also'. *mas* and *tsa* may precede or follow the

finite verb, forming the literal meaning, 'If it is also that....' The finite verb is in the imperfective stem and co-occurs with the appropriate pronominal clitic.

(10.137) *m-oto*   *a＝mu*   *rond*   *mas*   *tsa*
          1SG.NNOM-father   ACC＝1SG.NNOM   scold.3SG.IPFV   also   COND

          mejli
          okay
          'It's okay even if my father scolds me.'

(10.138) *təw*   *mujim*   *waz*   *marzundʑ*   *mas*   *tsa*
          2SG.NOM   important   1SG.NOM   hungry   also   COND

          ris＝am   *mejli*
          remain.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV   okay
          'You are important; it's okay even if I starve.'

(10.139) *wi*   *pɛð*   *ðizd*   *mas*   *tsa*
          3SG.NNOM.DIST   foot   hurt.3SG.IPFV   also   COND

          wi   *dil*   *χu*   *dɛst-ɛf*   *qati*
          3SG.NNOM.DIST   heart   REFL.NNOM   friend-PL.NNOM   COM

          tup   *skit*   *tɕejg*
          ball   play   do.INF
          'Even though his foot hurts, he wants to play ball with his friends.'

(10.140) *dɛðd*   *mas*   *tsa*   *ɕəwgunbahor*   *muburak*
          enter.3SG.IPFV   also   COND   Sheawgeenbahor   congratulations

          lɛvd   *dɛðd*
          say.3SG.IPFV   enter.3SG.IPFV
          'Even when he enters, he says "Happy Sheawgeenbahor" and enters.'

(10.141) *um*   *xani-χejl*   *tɛdz＝in*   *mas*   *tsa*   *xabor*
          there   groom-PL.NOM   go.IPFV＝3PL.IPFV   also   COND   sleepover

          rejd＝itɕuz   *dʑuj-χejl*   *jost*
          remain.INF＝REL   place-PL.NOM   be.IPFV
          'Even when the groom party goes there, there are places to stay overnight.'

(10.142)   *tamaɕ*   *əwd-ik*   *skit*   *mas*   *tsa*   *ka=it*
     2PL.NOM   here-DIM   play   also   COND   do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV

      səwd   *hammo*   *tɕɛk*   *ar*   *darun*
      become.3SG.IPFV   but   boundary   LOC   inside

      ka=it
      do.IPFV=2PL.IPFV
     'It's okay even if you(pl) play here, but play inside the boundaries.'

It is very common for an RC to be embedded within the concessive clause, in which case the finite verb of the AC is the imperfective stem of *vid* 'be', as shown in (10.143) - (10.148).

(10.143)   *duvɛz*   *lɛq*   *paməwɣdʐ=ɛndʑ*   *mas*   *tsa*
     thick   clothing   wear.PRF=REL   also   COND

      vəw=am   *iɕ=am*   *tɕəwg*
      be.IPFV=1SG.IPFV   cold=1SG.PFV   do.PFV
     'Even though I am wearing thick clothes, I am cold.' (lit. Even
      though I am one who has put on thick clothes, I am cold.)

(10.144)   *woð*   *ðɛs*   *sul*   *tar*   *prud*   *tej*   *tɕəwɣdʐ=ɛndʑ*
     3PL.NOM.DIST   ten   year   LOC   front   wedding   do.PRF=REL

      mas   *tsa*   *vəw=in*   *ɕitɕ*   *its*
      also   COND   be.IPFV=3PL.IPFV   now   until

      wɛf-an   *batɕo*   *nist*
      3PL.NNOM.DIST-GEN   child   NEG.be.IPFV
     'Even though they got married ten years ago, they have no child
      until now.' (lit. Even though they are ones who have gotten
      married ten years ago, they have no child until now.)

(10.145) *waz*   *bɛdʑin*   *ajoɣ*   *zoxt＝itɕuz*   *mas* *tsa*
          1SG.NOM   Beijing   shoes   buy.INF＝REL   also   COND

        vəw＝am   *uʑ*   *iw*   *mas*   *uʑ*
        be.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV   again   one   also   again

        zoʑ＝am
        buy.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV

    'Even though I will buy shoes in Beijing, I will buy a another one
    now.' (lit. Even though I am one who will buy shoes in Beijing,
    I will buy another one now.)

(10.146) *hitɕ*   *tsaʁa* *na*   *sɛðdʑ*   *mas* *tsa* *vəw＝in*
          none   how   NEG   become.PRF   also   COND   be.IPFV＝3PL.IPFV

        hammo   *uɯtɕ*   *xudʑ＝af*   *ðəwg*
        but   very   fright＝3PL.PFV   scare.PFV

    'Even though they were fine, they were very frightened.' (lit. Even
    though they are ones who have not become in any way, they
    were very frightened.)

(10.147) *uɯtɕ* *puur* *xojdʑ*   *mas* *tsa*   *vəw＝it*   *hammo*
          very   much   read.PRF   also   COND   be.IPFV＝2PL.IPFV   but

        akram *duð*   *puur*   *ziv*   *na*   *wazon＝it*
        Akram   AMT   much   tongue   NEG   know.IPFV＝2PL.IPFV

    'Even though you(pl) are very well educated, you do not know as
    many languages as Akram does.' (lit. Even though you(pl) are
    ones who have read much, you do not know as many languages
    as Akram does.)

(10.148) *waz*   *uɯtɕ* *puur* *gap*   *tajur* *tɕəwɣdʑ* *mas* *tsa*
          1SG.NOM   very   much   word   ready   do.PRF   also   COND

        vəw＝am,   *hammo*   *pɛt＝am*   *ranuɯxt*
        be.IPFV＝1SG.IPFV   but   all＝1SG.IPFV   forget.PFV

    'Even though I prepared so much to say, I forgot everything.' (lit.
    Even though I am one who has prepared many words, I forgot
    everything.)

Since the concessive AC is a conditional clause, *vid* occurs in the embedded imperfective stem when the embedded clause is a copula clause, as in (10.149) - (10.152), or when the embedded clause is an existential clause, as in (10.153).

(10.149) *ju   ingum   tamoq χuɣdʐ   mas tsa*
3SG.NOM.DIST just.now food   eat.PRF also COND

vid   uz   marzundʐ
be.3SG.IPFV again hungry

'Even though he just ate food, he is hungry again.' (lit. Even though he is one who has just eaten food, he is hungry again.)

(10.150) *sofia dʐojza zuxtɕ   mas tsa   vid   ju*
Sofia prize   get.PRF also COND be.3SG.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST

ləwr dʐun na   suit
big   life NEG become.PFV

'Even though Sofia won the prize, she has not become arrogant.' (lit. Even though Sofia is one who got the prize, she has not become arrogant.)

(10.151) *sejfik-an   wi   ato   ano   post qad   mas*
Seyfik-GEN   3SG.NNOM.DIST father mother low height also

tsa   vəw = in   ju   χubaθ   buland
COND be.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV 3SG.NOM.DIST REFL.NOM high

qad
height

'Even though his parents are short, Seyfik is tall.'

(10.152) *χsrəw   pugan   tid = itɕuz   mas tsa   vid*
Hsreaw tomorrow go.INF = REL also COND be.3SG.IPFV

tɕing   az   zord tɕɛr kaxt
genuinely ABL heart work do.3SG.IPFV

'Even though Hsreaw is leaving tomorrow, he is working passionately.' (lit. Even though Hsreaw is one who is leaving tomorrow, he is working passionately.)

(10.153) *ta-an   pul   na mas tsa   vid*
2SG.NNOM-GEN money NEG also COND be.3SG.IPFV

joð
come.IPFV

'Come even if you do not have money.'

10.2.3.3 Counterfactual

The counterfactual is a type of conditional AC in which the speaker asserts the protasis not to be true. This construction is formed by adding the *tsa* particle immediately before or after the verb in the protasis, adding the *=ik* durative marker to any preverbal element in both the protasis and the apodosis, and using the pluperfect form of the verb (perfect verb stem + cessative marker *-it*) in both the protasis and the apodosis. (10.154) - (10.158) are examples of counterfactuals.

(10.154) *tudʑik   tej=ik   tsa   vɛðdʑ-it,*
        Tajik   wedding=DUR   COND   be.PRF-CESS

        waz=am=ik   a=ta   juðdʑ-it
        1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV=DUR   ACC=2SG.NNOM   take.PRF-CESS
        'If it had been a Tajik wedding, I would have taken you.'

(10.155) *mu-an   radzɛn=ik   tsa   vɛðdʑ-it,*
        1SG.NNOM-GEN   daughter=DUR   COND   be.PRF-CESS

        tu=ri=am=ik   ðudʑ-it
        2SG.NNOM=DAT=1SG.PFV=DUR   give.PRF-CESS
        'If I had a daughter, I would have given her to you.'

(10.156) *waz=am=ik   purs   ziv   tsa*
        1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV=DUR   Persian   tongue   COND

        wazondʑ-it,   iron=am=ik   tujdʑ-it
        know.PRF-CESS   Iran=1SG.PFV=DUR   go.PRF-CESS
        'If I had known Persian, I would have gone to Iran.'

(10.157) *ta-an   pasport=ik   tsa   vɛðdʑ-it,*
        2SG.NNOM-GEN   passport=DUR   COND   be.PRF-CESS

        kudʑur=at=ik   tujdʑ-it
        where=2SG.PFV=DUR   go.PRF-CESS
        'If you had had a passport, where would you have gone?'

(10.158) *waz=am=ik   varçidɛ   tsa   vɛðdʑ-it,*
        1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV=DUR   Varshide   COND   be.PRF-CESS

        ta   ar   tej=am=ik   iθtɕ-it
        2SG.NNOM   LOC   wedding=1SG.PFV=DUR   come.PRF-CESS
        'If I had been in Varshide, I would have come to your wedding.'

10.2.3.4 Explanatory reason

The explanatory reason AC consists of an infinitival clause with the AC verb preceded by the ablative marker *az* and followed by the subordinating conjunction *=i*. The reason clause generally occurs at the beginning of the main clause, and is used when a speaker is offering new information in the subordinate clause to support a claim made in the main clause. (10.159) - (10.161) below illustrate this type of reason clause.

(10.159) *mu*   *pa*   *tilfon*   *tuk*   *az*   *na*   *rejd＝i*
       1SG.NNOM LOC phone electricity ABL NEG remain.INF＝SC

       tu＝ri＝am   *tilfon*   *na*   *tɕi*   *tɕəwg*
       2SG.NNOM＝DAT＝1SG.PFV phone NEG CAP do.PFV
       'I could not call you because there was no power left in my phone.'

(10.160) *wɛf*   *pa*   *tɕɛd*   *ləwr* *mejmun-χejl*   *az*
       3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC house big   guest-PL.NOM   ABL

       jɛt＝i   *a＝kalo＝af*   *kaxt*
       come.INF＝SC ACC＝sheep＝3PL.PFV slaughter.PFV
       'They slaughtered a sheep because they had important guests.'

(10.161) *nurbia* *χu*   *ɕejdoi*   *az*   *bunost＝i*
       Nurbia REFL.NNOM Sheydoi ABL lose.INF＝SC

       wi   *ano*   *χafo*   *sut*
       3SG.NNOM.DIST mother upset become.PFV
       'Nurbia's mother got upset because Nurbia lost her Sheydoi (female cap).'

10.2.3.5 Suppositional reason

The suppositional reason AC is formed with an infinitival clause followed by *mazamun* 'since', and the main clause follows the AC. This type of reason AC may be considered "echoic", meaning that the information in the subordinate clause is supposed to be contextually available to the speaker, and usually to the hearer. This is exemplified in the following examples.

(10.162) *wɛf*   *batɕo tindʑ*   *amun*   *waʑɛvd*
          3PL.NNOM.DIST child peaceful unharmed return.INF

    mazamun *woð = af*   *dijur*   *χalg = ir*
    since   3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV   region   person = DAT

    ziofat *ðud*
    party   give.PFV
'Since their son returned peaceful and unharmed, they threw a
party for the village people.'

(10.163) *puɡan*   *maɕ-an*   *dars*   *na*   *vid*   *mazamun*
          tomorrow   1PL.NNOM-GEN lesson   NEG   be.INF   since

    waz   *χu*   *dud*   *pa*   *tɕɛd*
    1SG.NOM   REFL.NNOM   uncle   LOC   house

    so = am
    become.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'Since we do not have class tomorrow, I am going to my uncle's
house.'

(10.164) *asan* *az*   *ta*   *atuin*   *afu*   *parst*
          Asan   ABL   2SG.NNOM   purposefully forgiveness ask.INF

    mazamun *təw*   *wi*   *qati*   *ejl*
    since   2SG.NOM   3SG.NNOM.DIST   COM   reconciled

    so   *tsa*   *səwd*
    become.IPFV   COND   become.3SG.IPFV
'Since Asan specifically asked you for forgiveness, you can recon-
cile with him.'

(10.165) *waz*   *iχil*   *ar*   *xojd*   *vid*   *mazamun*
          1SG.NOM   continuously   LOC   read.INF   be.INF   since

    watɕa-an   *pur*   *χalg-ɛf*   *na*
    Wacha-GEN   much   person-PL.NNOM   NEG

    wazon = am
    know.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'Since I have been studying continuously, I do not know a lot of
people in Wacha.'

10.2.3.6 Purpose

The purpose AC is formed with an infinitival clause followed by the benefactive marker *avon*, as in (10.166) - (10.169) or the dative marker *=ir*, as in (10.170) - (10.173). Both types of purpose ACs typically occur before the entire main clause or immediately after the subject, but it may also be postposed to sentence-final position, as shown in (10.173).

(10.166) *χu   puts ar   amriko   xajond   avon maχsat*
　　　　　REFL.NNOM son   LOC   America   study.CAUS.INF BEN   Mahsat

　　　　　dam na   zoxt   tɕɛr   kaxt
　　　　　rest NEG   get.INF   work   do.3SG.IPFV
　　　　　'In order to let his son study in America, Mahsat works without resting.'

(10.167) *tilak   batɕo-ɛf=ir   samʁut zoxt   avon pa   dikɯn*
　　　　　Tilak   child-PL.NNOM=DAT   gift   buy.INF   BEN   LOC   store

　　　　　dejd
　　　　　enter.PFV
　　　　　'Tilak went into the store to buy gifts for the children.'

(10.168) *mu   puts χu   tɕɛd   zoxt   avon az*
　　　　　1SG.NNOM   son   REFL.NNOM   house   get.INF   BEN   ABL

　　　　　mu   pul   zɯxt
　　　　　1SG.NNOM   money   get.PFV
　　　　　'My son got money from me to buy his house.'

(10.169) *waz=am   joɕ-i   alo   utɕ   pur   ginu*
　　　　　1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV   young-NMLZ   TEMP   very much sin

　　　　　tɕəwɣdʑ-it   ɕitɕ=ik   χu   ginu znod   avon
　　　　　do.PRF-CESS   now=DUR   REFL.NNOM   sin   wash.INF   BEN

　　　　　kixix   k=am
　　　　　endeavor   do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
　　　　　'I sinned very much when I was young, and now I am endeavoring to purge my sin.'

(10.170) *adirdin χu   dud=ir   tamoq jod=ir   pa*
Adirdn REFL.NNOM uncle=DAT food   take.INF=DAT LOC

duχturχuno tɯjd
hospital   go.PFV
'Adirdin went to the hospital to take food to his uncle.'

(10.171) *gawar a=wɛf   tar   pond wɛðd=ir*
Gawar ACC=3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC road put.INF=DAT

naxtɯg
go.up.PFV
'Gawar went to see them out.'

(10.172) *waz=am   az   mejnaχon i   tsiz   parst=ir*
1SG.NOM=1SG.PFV ABL Meynahon one thing ask.INF=DAT

wi   pa   jatoq=am   sut
3SG.NNOM.DIST LOC dormitory=1SG.PFV become.PFV
'I went to Meynahon's dormitory to ask her something.'

(10.173) *joð,   alid=ir*
come.IPFV lie.INF=DAT
'Come over to sleep over.'

The purpose AC construction is also used for indicating how long it has been since a certain situation has happened, or how much time remains until a certain situation will happen, as in (10.174) & (10.175), respectively.

(10.174) a. *tu=ri   varçidɛ jɛt=ir   tsund*
2SG.NNOM=DAT Varshide come.INF=DAT how.much

waχt sut
time   become.PFV
'How long has it been since you came to Varshide?'

b. *mu=ri   varçidɛ jɛt=ir   woxt sul*
1SG.NNOM=DAT Varshide come.INF=DAT eight year

sut
become.PFV
'It has been eight years since I came to Varshide.'

(10.175) a. *təw   χu   tej   tɕejg = ir   tsund*
2SG.NOM   REFL.NNOM   wedding   do.INF = DAT   how.much

waχt   rejd
time   remain.PFV
'How long will it be until you get married?'

b. *waz   χu   tej   tɕejg = ir   tsavur*
1SG.NOM   REFL.NNOM   wedding   do.INF = DAT   how.much

most   rejd
time   remain.PFV
'I have four months until I get married.'

10.2.3.7 Means and simultaneity

One of the ways to express the means of performing an action is by using an AC construction, marked with an infinitival clause followed by the comitative and instrumental function marker *qati*:

(10.176) *ɕanigul   pa   ristron   tɕɛr   tɕejg   qati   pul*
Shanigeel   LOC   restaurant   work   do.INF   COM   money

vrejd
find.3SG.IPFV
'Shanigeel makes money by working at a restaurant.'

(10.177) *waz = am   kinu   tɕixt   qati   ziv   χumand*
1SG.NOM = 1SG.PFV   movie   watch.INF   COM   tongue   learn

sut
become.PFV
'I learned the language by watching movies.'

This AC construction may also be used to indicate that a situation occurred at the same time as another situation (the situation in the main clause). If the two situations happen simultaneously in a very short moment, the word *tang* 'simultaneous' may be added after *qati*, as in (10.179).

(10.178) *nizamidin   bejt   lɛvd   qati   pa   tɕɛd   waʑɛvd*
Nizamidin   song   say.INF   COM   LOC   house   return.PFV
'Nizamidin went home singing.'

(10.179) *ojmira   naxtig   qati   tang   amad   dejd*
    Oimira go.up.INF COM simultaneous Amad enter.PFV
    'Amad entered as Oimira came out.'

10.2.3.8 Time

Sarikoli has two different constructions of temporal AC: 1) a genuine temporal AC with the durative marker =*ik*, and 2) an RC construction with a time word as its head. The first construction makes use of aspect and juxtaposition. The temporal AC, which precedes the main clause, takes a verb in the perfective stem and the durative enclitic =*ik*, which attaches to a preverbal element. The main clause which follows the AC takes an imperfective verb, and the two clauses are juxtaposed. This type of construction is only used when neither of the situations in the two clauses has happened yet.

(10.180) *ɕejdoi-χejl=af=ik*   *fript,*   *waz*
    Sheydoi-PL.NOM=3PL.PFV=DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NOM

    tu=ri   *tilfon*   *ka=am*
    2SG.NNOM=DAT phone do.IPFV=1SG.IPFV
    'Once the Sheydois (female cap) have arrived, I will call you.'

(10.181) *suat   ðɛs   a   ða=ik   sut=aθ,   maɕ*
    hour ten CONJ two=DUR become.PFV=EMP 1PL.NOM

    tɛdz=an
    go.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
    'Once it is 12 o'clock, we will go.'

(10.182) *varɕidɛ=at=ik*   *fript,*   *mu=ri*   *tilfon*
    Varshide=2SG.PFV=DUR reach.PFV 1SG.NNOM=DAT phone

    ka
    do.IPFV
    'Once you have arrived in Varshide, call me.'

(10.183) *urumtɕi=am=ik*   *jɛt*   *mejdʑ   sut,*   *tom*
    Urumqi=1SG.PFV=DUR come.INF INTEN become.PFV then

    χabar   ka=an
    news do.IPFV=1PL.IPFV
    'When I plan to go to Urumqi, then let us exchange news.'

(10.184) *mu   batɕo-χejl = af = ik   ləwr sut,*
1SG.NNOM child-PL.NOM = 3PL.PFV = DUR big   become.PFV

tom   dam zoz = am
then   rest get.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
'Once my children have grown older, I will get rest.'

(10.185) *ta   pa   dil = ik   jot   mu = ri*
2SG.NNOM LOC heart = DUR come.PFV 1SG.NNOM = DAT

lɛv
say.IPFV
'Tell me when you remember it.' (lit. Tell me when it has come
to your heart.)

The second way of forming temporal clauses involves an unmarked infinitival
RC with a time word as its head. When pointing directly to the time in the
embedded clause, the unmarked infinitival RC is headed by the noun *waχt*
'time' or the temporal particle *alo*, without any function markers.

(10.186) *ɕəwgunbahor   ejd   narzambond   waχt nudʑ lɛq*
Sheawgeenbahor festival celebrate.INF time new   clothing

pamɛdʑ = in
wear.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They wear new clothes when celebrating the Sheawgeenbahor
festival.'

(10.187) *waz   ðɛs at   uvd sulo   vid   alo   tej*
1SG.NOM ten CONJ seven year.old be.INF TEMP wedding

tɕəwɣdʑ = ɛndʑ
do.PRF = REL
'I am one who got married when I was seventeen years old.'

Different function markers are used for indicating different temporal relations
between the main clause and the embedded situation, such as 'before' and
'after'. To point to a time before the embedded situation, the infinitival RC is
followed by the compound function marker *tɕi prud* 'in front of; before'.

(10.188) *a = dustarχun   wixt   tɕi   prud futa ka = in*
ACC = tablecloth gather.INF LOC front pray do.IPFV = 3PL.IPFV
'They pray before gathering the tablecloth.'

(10.189) *maç   ar   maktab fript   tçi   prud*
1PL.NNOM LOC school reach.INF LOC front

    mu＝ri   tilfon   ka
1SG.NNOM＝DAT phone do.IPFV
'Call me before you reach our school.'

To point to a time after the embedded situation, the infinitival RC is followed
by the compound function marker *az zabu* 'behind; after':

(10.190) *a＝kalo   kaxt   az   zabu a＝wi*
ACC＝sheep slaughter.INF ABL back ACC＝3SG.NNOM.DIST

    guxt   pɛdz＝in
meat   cook.IPFV＝3PL.IPFV
'After killing the sheep they cook that meat.'

(10.191) *xipik   tçejg   az   zabu a＝wɛf   pa*
flatbread do.INF ABL back ACC＝3PL.NNOM.DIST LOC

    nohija   para   ðo＝an
county   sell   give.IPFV＝1PL.IPFV
'After making the flatbread we sell it in the county seat.'

10.2.3.9 Location

Sarikoli makes use of an RC construction to express location with a clause.
The locative clause may take either the ＝*ɛndʑ* or ＝*itçuz* relativizer, and the
head of the RC is often *dʑuj* 'place', but it may also be a more specific location
word. Optionally, a function marker may immediately precede or follow the
RC head, indicating the spatial relationship between the RC head and the
relativized 'place' in the main clause, as shown in (10.192) - (10.194).

(10.192) *çanbɛ   χu   tilfon   latçəwɣdʑ＝ɛndʑ tçi   dʑuj   alima*
Shanbe REFL.NNOM phone put.PRF＝REL   LOC place Alima

    nalust
sit.PFV
'Alima sat in the place where Shanbe put his phone.'

(10.193) woð   tej   tɕejg = itɕuz   dʐuj   pa   prud
          3PL.NOM.DIST   wedding   do.INF = REL   place LOC   front

          χuɕruj   gul-ɛf = af   latɕəwg
          beautiful flower-PL.NNOM = 3PL.PFV   put.PFV
          'They placed beautiful flowers in front of the place where they are
          getting married.'

(10.194) maɕ   xojdʐ = ɛndʐ   ar   maktab   sɛð   ðɛs tudʐik
          1PL.NOM   read.PRF = REL LOC   school   this.year ten Tajik

          batɕo iθtɕ
          child come.PRF
          'This year, ten Tajik students came to the school where we stud-
          ied.'

The same structure may be used for expressing substitution, or the replace-
ment of one situation with another. The RC takes the unmarked infinitival
form, and the locative marker *tɕi* precedes the head noun *dʐuj*. The literal
meaning of this construction is 'in the place of X', where 'X' represents the
situation within the unmarked RC. This is illustrated in examples (10.195) -
(10.197) below.

(10.195) kafton χu   dars   xojd   tɕi   dʐuj   skit
          Kafton REFL.NNOM   lesson read.INF   LOC   place play

          tɕejg = ir   tuɪjd
          do.INF = DAT   go.PFV
          'Kafton went to play instead of studying in class.'

(10.196) ramon   ejd   narzambond   tɕi   dʐuj   χu   χejx
          Ramon   festival   celebrate.INF LOC   place REFL.NNOM   relative

          ar   margi   tuɪjd
          LOC   funeral go.PFV
          'Ramon went to his relative's funeral instead of celebrating the
          festival.'

(10.197) samʁut ðod   tɕi dʐuj pul   maɕ = ir
          gift   give.INF   LOC place money   1PL.NNOM = DAT

          ðo = it
          give.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
          'Give us money instead of giving us gifts.'

10.2.3.10 Manner

The manner clause is also expressed through an RC construction, with the semblative function marker *rang* as the head. This strategy for expressing manner takes the perfect verb stem and = *ɛndʑ* relativizer, regardless of whether the embedded situation has already happened, as in (10.198) & (10.199), or has present time reference, as in (10.200) & (10.201).

(10.198) *woð = af*   *dʑang* *tɕəwɣdʑ = ɛndʑ* *rang*   *ʁoɕ*
          3PL.NOM.DIST = 3PL.PFV war   do.PRF = REL   SEMB   fight

          wɛðd
          put.PFV
          'They fought as if they were fighting a war.'

(10.199) *sobir* *haroj* *maθ* *hitɕ* *tsiz*   *na*   *χuɣdʑ = ɛndʑ* *rang* *utɕ*
          Sobir   three   day   none   thing   NEG   eat.PRF = REL   SEMB   very

          pur   *χug*
          much   eat.PFV
          'Sobir ate so much, as if he had not eaten anything for three days.'

(10.200) *χu*   *pa*   *tɕɛd*   *naluɕtɕ = ɛndʑ* *rang*
          REFL.NNOM   LOC   house   sit.PRF = REL   SEMB

          niθ = it
          sit.IPFV = 2PL.IPFV
          'Sit as if you are sitting in your own home.'

(10.201) *purg*   *a = girindʑ* *tɕardʑ* *wandʑ = ɛndʑ* *rang*   *waz*
          mouse   ACC = rice   good   see.PRF = REL   SEMB   1SG.NOM

          a = ta   *tɕardʑ* *wejn = am*
          ACC = 2SG.NNOM   good   see.IPFV = 1SG.IPFV
          'As a mouse loves rice, I love you.'